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UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 ROME 14012

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SUBJECT: ITALIAN PRESS REPORTS ON AMBASSADOR GARDNER'S MEETING
WITH U.S. CONGRESSMEN

REF.: BROD-LOVERIDGE TELCON 7/28

1. FOLLOWING ARE TEXTS OF THREE ARTICLES FROM ITALIAN PRESS ON
AMBASSADOR GARDNER JUNE MEETING WITH U.S CONGRESSMEN.

2. /IL TEMPO/, JUNE 7, 1978. BEGIN TEXT: A COMMUNIST VICTORY IN
ITALY IS NO LONGER INEVITABLE--WHILE ILLUSTRATING THE SITUATION
OF OUR COUNTRY TO CONGRESSIONAL FIGURES,THE U.S. AMBASSADOR
SAID THAT THE RECENTL ELECTIONS "HAVE DISPROVED THIS LEGEND."
PESSIMISM OVER THE "EVOLUTION" OF THE PCI.

3. WASHINGTON, JUNE 6--THE U.S. AMBASSADOR TO ROME, RICHARD
GARDNER, TODAY EXPLAINED THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN THE ITALIAN
POLITICAL SITUATION TO A GROUP OF MEMBERS OF CONGRESS IN TERMS
WHICH ONE OF THE PARTICIPANTS CALLED "CAUTIOUS OPTIMISMS."

4. GARDNER, WH WAS IN WASHINGTON FOR THE NATO MEETING AND WHO
STAYED ON FOR CONSULTATIONS AND TO PARTICIPATE IN A TRILATERAL
COMMISSION MEETING,SAID THAT THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT ADMINI-
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PAGE 02 ROME 14012 01 OF 03 311837Z

STRATIVE ELECTIONS "HAVE DESTROYED THE LEGEND OF THE INEVITA-
BILITY OF COMMUNISM IN ITALY". MOREOVER, THE AMERICAN
DIPLOMAT POINTED OUT THAT THE CHANGE IN PUBLIC OPINION GOES
BACK TO LAST YEAR, AND THAT, IN PRACTICE, THE RESULTS OF THE MAY
14 ELECTION ARE BASED ON TWO COMPONENTS: ON THE ONE HAND,
THE POLITICAL AND MORAL BACKLASH AGAINST THE MORO ASSASSINATION,
AND ON THE OTHER HAND, THE NEW FACT OF THE DISSATISFACTION OF

THE ELECTORATE WITH THE INADEQUACY OF COMMUNIST PERFORMANCE IN ADMINISTERING THE LARGE CITIES AS WELL AS THE SMALL TOWNS THEY HAVE WON IN RECENT YEARS.

5. AMBASSADOR GARDNER DID NOT, HOWEVER, UNDERESTIMATE THE SERIOUSNESS OF ITALY'S POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC PROBLEMS. BUT OF ALL THE DANGERS PRESENT IN ITALY TODAY HE POINTED TO "POSSIBLE AGREEMENTS" REACHED AT A HIGH LEVEL FOR PARTY POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS AND NOT AS "A RESPONSE TO PUBLIC OPINION" AS THE MOST SERIOUS. IN GARDNER'S OPINION, THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS SHOW SIGNS OF HAVING UNDERTAKEN A PROCESS OF REVIVAL AND RENOVATION.

6. THIS AFFIRMATION WAS ECHOED BY THE NOTED ITALIANIST MICHAEL LEDEEN OF THE CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, WHO NOTED THAT THE DC HAD BEGUN ITS OWN RENOVATION WHILE STILL IN POWER--A SINGULAR EVENT IN A WESTERN DEMOCRACY. THEREFORE, THEY DO NOT DESERVE TO BE JUDGED TOO SEVERELY.

7. NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC SENATOR JACOB JAVITS AND VARIOUS CONGRESSMEN, INCLUDING SOME OF ITALIAN ORIGIN, TOOK PART IN THE SESSION, ASKING THE US AMBASSADOR A LONG SERIES OF QUESTIONS. FROM GARDNER'S RESPONSES THE FOLLOWING IN-DEPTH EVALUATION EMERGED: THE COMMUNIST PARTY IS NOT THE KIND OF PARTY WHICH COULD BE ASSOCIATED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF A FREE WESTERN COUNTRY WITHOUT RISK, AND THE MAJORITY OF ITALIANS HAVE SHOWN THEMSELVES TO BE CONSCIOUS OF THIS FACT.
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PAGE 03 ROME 14012 01 OF 03 311837Z

8. WHILE UNDERLINING THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS REVERSAL -- DEMONSTRATED IN THE RECENT SCHOOL ELECTIONS AS WELL -- AMBASSADOR GARDNER DID NOT HIDE THE FACT THAT IF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC PARTY WERE TO SHOW ITSELF TO BE INCAPABLE OF CARRYING OUT THE NECESSARY NATIONAL REFORMS, THE POLITICAL SITUATION COULD RETURN TO WHAT IT WAS TWO YEARS AGO. ON THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE MORO AFFAIR, GARDNER RECOGNIZED THAT IT IS DIFFICULT TO MEASURE THE IMPACT PROVOKED BY THE RED BRIGADES AND WARNED THAT THIS COULD BE "TEMPORARY."

9. DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS FUTURE, GARDNER SAID THAT IT CANNOT BE DENIED THAT THE PCI MIGHT BECOME A SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY, BUT, HE ADDED, AT PRESENT IT HAS UNDOUBTEDLY NOT YET BECOME ONE. A FURTHER EXAMINATION OF THE COURSE OF THE PCI WAS UNDERTAKEN IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION BY BROOKLYN DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN SOLARZ, WHO SAID THAT MANY "REASONABLE" OBSERVERS BELIEVE THAT A DEMOCRATIC "CONVERSION" OF THE PCI IS POSSIBLE AND ASKED HOW THIS TENDENCY MIGHT BE ENCOURAGED. AMBASSADOR GARDNER RECOUNTED, IN RESPONSE TO THE PROGRESSIVE CONGRESSMAN'S QUESTION, HOW, SINCE HIS ARRIVAL IN ITALY, HE HAS VERY SCRUPULOUSLY FOLLOWED THE BEHAVIOR OF THE PCI,

ITS ELECTORAL RESULTS AND ITS PUBLIC STATEMENTS. IN ANY CASE,
GARDNER SAID, ON 90 PERCENT OF ALL FOREIGN POLICY QUESTIONS,

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PAGE 01 ROME 14012 02 OF 03 311847Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 ROME 14012

.....QUESTIONS, THE PCI HAS SUPPORTED THE SOVIET UNION. THAT IS TRUE
FOR ALL FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS, HE ADDED, RECALLING THAT THE ONLY
RECENT POSSIBLE EXCEPTION WAS THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST CRITICISM
OF THE ORLOV CASE.

10. "THAT IS CERTAINLY NOT ENCOURAGING," SAID THE AMERICAN
DIPLOMAT, CITING THE CRISIS IN ZAIRE AND SPECIFICALLY /L'UNITA'S/
SILENCE ON THE CUBANS AND ITS CHARGE OF "IMPERIALISM" AGAINST
FRENCH PRESIDENT GISCARD. SIMILARLY, GARDNER OBSERVED, WHILE
AMBASSADOR YOUNG AND BRITISH FOREIGN MINISTER OWEN WORK FOR A
NEGOTIATED SOLUTION IN RHODESIA, THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST ORGAN
DENOUNCES "IMPERIALIST INTERFERENCE."

11. IN RESPONSE TO A QUESTION BY NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC SENATOR
JAVITS, WHO ASKED HOW THE U.S. COULD HELP ITALY WITHOUT INTERFERING
IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS, AMBASSADOR GARDNER INDICATED VARIOUS
WAYS OF PUTTING AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AND AID AT THE DISPOSITION
IF ITALY, WITH EMPHASIS ON TECHNICAL COOPERATION TO IMPROVE
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND THOSE STRUCTURES WHICH IMPINGE MOST
DIRECTLY ON THE PEOPLE. CONCERNING THE HELP THE ITALIAN
GOVERNMENT IS REPORTED TO HAVE ASKED FROM THE CIA TO COMBAT THE
RED BRIGADES -- HELP WHICH, ACCORDING TO A NEWSPAPER COLUMN,
WAS DENIED -- GARDNER SAID SUCH INFORMATION WAS IN ERROR AND
ADDED, BUT WITHOUT OFFERING DETAILS, THAT THE ITALIAN GOVERNMENT
"HAS RECEIVED EVERYTHING THAT IT ASKED FOR."

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PAGE 02 ROME 14012 02 OF 03 311847Z

12. THE CHIEF OF THE COMMITTEE FOR INTERNATIONAL AFFIARS IN THE HOUSE, CLEMENT ZBLOCKI, AND HIS VICE CHAIRMAN, HAMILTON, TOGETHER WITH SEVERAL ACADEMICS AND EXPERTS ON ITALIAN AFFAIRS, PARTICIPATED IN THE MEETING WITH RICHARD GARDNER, WHICH TOOK PLACE AT THE CAPITOL. END TEXT.

13. /LA REPUBBLICA,/ JUNE 8, 1978. BEGIN TEXT: WASHINGTON -- IT TOOK AN ELECTORAL DEFEAT OF THE PCI TO REASSURE AMBASSADOR GARDNER ABOUT THE FUTURE OF OUR COUNTRY. IN A ROUND OF CONSULTATIONS WITH AMERICAN CONGRESSMEN AND TOP LEADERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION, RICHARD GARDNER HAS, IN THE LAST FEW DAYS, PAINTED A VERY OPTIMISTIC PICTURE OF THE ITALIAN SITUATION. THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS IN RESURGENCE, THE PCI IN DECLINE, SOCIAL EQUILIBRIUM, WHEN ALL IS CONSIDERED, RULES. THE PHENOMENON OF TERRORISM IS NOW THOUGHT, AFTER THE MORO CASE, TO HAVE BEEN A TEMPORARY EXPLOSION OF VIOLENCE. THESE, ACCORDING TO THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO ROME, ARE THE CHARACTER TRAITS OF THE PRESENT POLITICAL SITUATION WHICH OUR GOVERNMENT IS UNDERGOING.

14. THE DARK FORECASTS OF LAST JANJARY, ON THE OCCASION OF THE LATEST CRISIS OF THE ANDREOTTI GOVERNMENT, ARE THUS SUDDENLY SAID TO BE UNTRUE. THE PCI IS NOT ON THE BRINK OF POWER. AMERICA HAS NOTHING TO FEAR, RATHER, TO JUDGE FROM HOW THINGS HAVE GONE IN FRANCE, EUROCOMMUNISM ON THE WHOLE IS RAPIDLY DECLINING. HE MET INFORMALLY WITH CONGRESSMEN LAST TUESDAY IN WASHINGTON. IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, GARDNER WILL ALSO PARTICIPATE IN A MEETING OF THE TRILATERAL COMMISSION.

15. WHILE CONGRATULATING HIMSELF ON THESE UNEXPECTED REVERSALS, GARDNER DID NOT MISS THE CHANGE TO EXPRESS HIS OWN DOUBTS ABOUT THE EFFECTIVE CAPACITY OF THE DC TO ENACT THE "NECESSARY NATIONAL REFORMS." IF THIS UNDERTAKING WERE TO FAIL, HE SAID, THE ITALIAN POLITICAL CLIMATE MIGHT AGAIN DEGENERATE.
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PAGE 03 ROME 14012 02 OF 03 311847Z

16. ON THE DEMOCRATIC EVOLUTION OF THE PCI, THE AMBASSADOR REITERATED HIS TRADITIONAL POINT OF VIEW: THE "SOCIAL DEMOCRATIZATION" OF THE ITALIAN PARTY IS A LONG WAY FROM HAPPENING, AS IS SHOWN BY BERLINGUER'S FOREIGN POLICY WHICH, "80 PERCENT OF THE TIME IS RIGIDLY ALIGNED WITH SOVIET POSITIONS".

17. BUT NOT ALL THE CONGRESSMEN WHO HEARD HIM APPEARED CONVINCED BY GARDNER'S SPEECH. IS IT POSSIBLE, BROOKLYN DEMOCRATIC CONGRESSMAN STEPHEN SOLARZ ASKED, THAT THE OPINIONS EXPRESSED IN RECENT MONTHS BY MANY "REASONABLE OBSERVERS" ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A DEMOCRATIC CONVERSION OF THE PCI, ARE TOTALLY WITHOUT

BASIS?

18. AND THE AMERICANS, INSTEAD OF LIMITING THEIR INTERVENTION TO EXCOMMUNICATIONS AND OPPOSITION, SHOULDN'T THEY TRY TO ENCOURAGE THIS TENDENCY THAT SOONER OR LATER WILL LEAD TO A BREAK WITH MOSCOW? THE AMBASSADOR REPLIED SOMEWHAT SHORTLY: "FOR MONTHS AND MONTHS I HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING THE AFFAIRS OF THE PCI AND THEIR POLITICAL PRONOUNCEMENTS." THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE COMMUNISTS AND THE SOVIET UNION, HE ADDED, IS VISIBLE IN ALL OF THEIR DECLARATIONS, IN EVERY SINGLE LINE OF /L'UNITA'/. ONLY IN THE CASE OF THE RECENT ORLOV SENTENCE HAS THERE BEEN A PROTEST. "LOOK AT THE WAR IN ZAIRE: /L'UNITA'/ LIMITED ITSELF TO ACCUSING GISCARD

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PAGE 01 ROME 14012 03 OF 03 311851Z
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UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 ROME 14012

.....GISCARD OF FRENCH IMPERIALISM WITHOUT EVER NAMING THE CUBANS."

19. BUT ON THIS LAST POINT GARDNER'S CAREFUL ANALYSIS SEEMS TO BREAK DOWN: FOR MONTHS /L'UNITA'/ REPORTING FROM WASHINGTON HAS POINTED AT CUBAN AND RUSSIAN PRESENCE IN AFRICA AS ONE OF THE MOST DESTABILIZING ELEMENTS IN EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

20. EVEN NEW YORK DEMOCRATIC SENATOR JACOB JAVITS SHOWED HIMSELF TO BE MORE OPEN THAN GARDNER AND HIGHLIGHTED THE NEED TO "HELP ITALY" WITHOUT INTERVENING IN ITS INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

21. WHAT CONCLUSIONS SHOULD WE DRAW FROM GARDNER'S TALKS IN WASHINGTON? FIRST, THE AMBASSADOR CONTINUES TO PUT PRESSURE ON CONGRESS AND THE STATE DEPARTMENT TO MAINTAIN A POLICY OF COMPLETE OPPOSITION TO EUROCOMMUNISM, IN LINE WITH THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE'S JANUARY 12 STATEMENT.

22. SECOND--AND MORE IMPORTANT--IS THAT SUCH AN ATTITUDE

IS NOT SHARED BY THE ENTIRE US ESTABLISHMENT. GIAN CARLO PAJETTA'S RECENT LONG TALK WITH ANDREW YOUNG IN WASHINGTON ON A WIDE RANGE OF INTERNATIONAL QUESTIONS (AND THUS ALSO ON THE PROBLEMS POSED BY THE SOVIET-CUBAN PRESENCE IN AFRICA) IS THE clearest confirmation of that. AMBASSADOR YOUNG IS NOT ONLY THE US AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED NATIONS; HE IS ALSO, FOR ALL PRACTICAL PURPOSES, A MEMBER OF THE US CABINET. END
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PAGE 02 ROME 14012 03 OF 03 311851Z

TEXT.

23. EXCERPTS FROM JULY 4, 1978, /PANORAMA/ ARTICLE. BEGIN TEXT.
DOUBTS ABOUT THE AMBASSADOR. A RAIN OF CRITICISM ON GARDNER.
IN WASHINGTON AND ROME THERE IS TALK ABOUT HIS REPLACEMENT.

24. IS RICHARD GARDNER, U.S. AMBASSADOR TO ROME, ABOUT TO LEAVE HIS POST AFTER ONLY 15 MONTHS? IN WASHINGTON THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE DENIES IT. BUT RUMORS ABOUT AN IMMINENT TRANSFER OF THE AMBASSADOR CONTINUE, WITH INCREASING INSISTENCY, TO BOUNCE FROM ONE CAPITAL TO ANOTHER...

25. WHAT IS CERTAIN IS THAT GARDNER HAS FOR SOME MONTHS BECOME A CONTESTED MAN IN THE U.S. AS WELL AS IN ITALY. IN ROME THEY COMPLAIN ABOUT HIS INTERFERENCE IN ITALIAN INTERNAL AFFAIRS AND AN IMPRECISE UNDERSTANDING OF THE COMPLEXITY OF THE ITALIAN POLITICAL REALITY IN A MOMENT AS DELICATE AS THE PRESENT...

26. /TWO FRONTS/. IN THE U.S. THE CRITICISM OF GARDNER, EVEN EXPRESSED IN CLOSE-DOOR MEETINGS OF CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES, COMES FROM TWO POLITICALLY OPPOSED FRONTS AND, THEREFORE, SEEMS CONTRADICTORY. SOME PROGRESSIVE CONGRESSMEN (THE SO CALLED "LIBERALS") HAVE CRITICIZED HIS INTERVENTION IN ITALIAN INTERNAL POLITICAL AFFAIRS. REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATORS LINKED TO THE ITALO-AMERICAN PRESSURE GROUPS, TRADITIONALLY CONSERVATIVE-- PROMINENT AMONG THEM PETER RODINO AND MARIO BIAGGI-- HAVE CRITICIZED GARDNER, ON THE OTHER HAND, FOR NOT HAVING BEEN MORE FIRM IN HIS OPPOSITION TO ATTEMPTS TO MOVE THE PCI CLOSER TO THE GOVERNMENT...

27. WHAT CONSEQUENCES WOULD THE SUBSTITUTION OF THE AMERICAN AMBASSADOR TO ROME HAVE? ANY HYPOTHESIS SEEMS PREMATURE AT THIS POINT. THE ANSWER DEPENDS ON THE NAME OF THE REPLACEMENT. A
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PAGE 03 ROME 14012 03 OF 03 311851Z

MAN BACKED BY THE ITALO-AMERICAN GROUPS WOULD INDICATE CARTER'S INTENTION TO OPPOSE A POSSIBLE ENTRANCE OF THE PCI IN THE GOVERNMENT.

NMENT WITH GREATER FIRMNESS. SOMEONE FROM THE PROGRESSIVE AREA
WOULD UNDERLINE THE ACCEPANCE ON BEHALF OF THE AMERICANS OF THE
NEW ROLE WHICH THE PCI HAS ASSUMED IN ITALIAN POLITICS. END
TEXT.HOLMES

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